

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5205
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0695

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, ZA, CG
SUBJ: ELEMENTS OF ZAMBIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SHABA INVASION

1. ZAMBIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SHABA INVASION IS A COMPLEX ONE INVOLVING A NUMBER OF ELEMENTS.
A. RELATIONS WITH THE GOZ. KAUNDA AND HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE NEVER BEEN CLOSE TO MOBUTU OR FELT MUCH SYMPATHY FOR THE GOZ ALTHOUGH THIS FEELING HAS NEVER BEEN CARRIED TO THE LEVEL OF ACTIVE DISLIKE AND OPPOSITION OF SOME OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. BORDER PROBLEMS WITH THE SHABA REGION ARE ALWAYS ANNOYING TO THE ZAMBians WHO FEEL SUPERIOR TO THEIR NORTHERN NEIGHBORS IN TERMS OF EDUCATION, STANDARD OF LIVING, AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION. THEY RESENT ZAIRIAN OBSTRUCTION TO COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF ZAMBIA OVER THE PEDICLE HIGHWAY. NEVERTHELESS, THEY RESPECT MOBUTU AS THE MAN WHO UNITED THE FRAGMENTED CONGO OF THE 1960'S AND THE GOZ AS THE GOVERNMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT AFRICAN NATION AND HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING SERIOUS CONFIDENTIAL

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MECHANISMS TO DEAL WITH BORDER PROBLEMS.
B. RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA. THE GRZ HAS BEEN DRAWING CLOSER TOWARDS THE NETO GOVERNMENT. ONE OF THE IMPORTANT BONDS BETWEEN THEM IS NETO'S WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT JOSHUA NKOMO'S ZAPU. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A ZAPU TRAINING CAMP IN ANGOLA AND TRANSFER THERE OF SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF ZAPU FORCES, HAS CREATED A WORKING BOND BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. NETO AND KAUNDA HAVE

KNOWN EACH OTHER FOR YEARS AND HAVE AGAIN MET RECENTLY AT FRONTLINE MEETINGS. SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE EXCHANGED VISITS AT A GROWING RATE. NEVERTHELESS, ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO PUBLICLY DEFEND THEIR CALL FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA. SAVIMBI'S WIFE AND FAMILY RESIDE IN ZAMBIA AND A LOW-LEVEL OF UNITA ACTIVITY IS PERMITTED. ZAMBIANS CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, THEY PROBABLY FEEL PERSONALLY MORE COMFORTABLE WITH NETO IF POLITICALLY CLOSER TO MOBUTU.

C. TRIBAL FACTORS. THE LUNDA TRIBE WHICH INHABITS NORTHWESTERN ZAMBIA, SOUTHERN ZAIRE AND SOUTHWESTERN ANGOLA HAS ALWAYS BEEN REGARDED SUSPICIOUSLY BY THE CENTRAL ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT. THE BEMBA HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN OPPOSED TO THEM AND THE GRZ IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THEM IN VIEW OF THE SUPPORT THEY PROVIDED FOR THE MUSHALA GANG WHICH IS SO WORRISOME TO THE GRZ. THUS THE GRZ WOULD BE DISTURBED AT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT SHABA GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE LUNDA HAVE STRONG INFLUENCE. ZAMBIANS PROBABLY FEEL A CERTAIN REASSURANCE BY THE PRESENCE OF THE CENTRAL ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY IN SHABA.

D. ZAMBIAN POLICIES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BIAFRA, ZAMBIA HAS NOT SUPPORTED INDEPENDENCE OR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WITHIN THE BORDERS OF CONSTITUTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND SINCE THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR ITS POSITION ON THIS MATTER HAS STRENGTHENED. IT FIRMLY OPPOSES THE ERITREAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT AT THE MOMENT. IN PART IS IT MOTIVATED BY AWARENESS OF THE FACT THAT IT ITSELF IS NOT IMMUNE TO SUCH PRESSURES IN THE FAR WEST BAROTSE-LAND AND IN THE NORTH FROM THE BEMBA.

E. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE KATANGAN GENDARMES. ZAMBIANS ASSOCIATE
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THE KATANGAN GENDARMES WITH REACTIONARY FORCES TO WHICH THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN OPPOSED. THEY CONSIDER THEM TO BE A DISRUPTIVE ELEMENT WITH WHICH THEY FEEL NO SYMPATHY.

2. CONSIDERING THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS TOGETHER, THE EMBASSY IS INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT THE GRZ WOULD PREFER NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE SHABA MATTER. IT IS ANXIOUS TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA AND AVOID DIVISIONS WITHIN THE FRONTLINE. SHOULD THE INVASION GROW IN SERIOUSNESS, HOWEVER, ZAMBIA WOULD PROBABLY FEEL CONSTRAINED TO ASSIST GOZ EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE SITUATION. IF CALLED UPON IT WOULD SEE THAT POL SUPPLIES REACH LUBUMBASHI. IT IS LIKELY TO INCREASE SURVEILLANCE OF ITS FRONTIER SO AS NOT TO PERMIT ITS TERRITORY TO BE USED BY THE INVADERS. IF THE SITUATION WERE TO DETERIORATE FURTHER, THE GRZ MIGHT EVEN PERMIT FAZ AIRCRAFT TO REFUEL IN ZAMBIA BUT IT WOULD CERTAINLY HOPE THAT MATTERS WOULD NEVER REACH THAT STAGE. IF THE MOBUTU GOVERNMENT WAS SERIOUSLY THREATENED OR OVERTURNED,

THERE WOULD BE NO FEELING OF PERSONAL LOSS HERE, BUT EQUALLY
NO WILLINGNESS TO EMBRACE A MILITARY SUCCESSOR. KAUNDA WOULD
FEEL SOBERED BY THE DEMONSTRATED EFFECTIVENESS OF CUBAN/SOVIET
SUPPORT FOR DISSIDENT ELEMENTS, LEAVING HIM LESS INCLINED TO
PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR UNITA BUT MORE OPPOSED TO CUBAN PRESENCE
IN AFRICA. LOW

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